Jimmy Hoffa Junior:

A Study Of His Connections To Corrupt Elements In The Labor Movement

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Introduction and Summary

In 1989, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), the AFL-CIO's largest union with 1.4 million members, signed an agreement with the United States Government designed to rid the Teamsters of decades of domination by corruption and organized crime. The agreement mandated for the first time the direct election of the General President of the Teamsters. As a result, Ron Carey -- a former UPS driver and President of Local 804 -- became the first elected general president in Teamsters' history.

Carey has made substantial progress in ridding the union of corruption and ties to the mob. He set up the first Ethical Practices Committee, attacked outrageous multiple salaries, and enforced temporary trusteeships against corrupt locals. Yet these moves toward reform have upset the long-protected bastions of privilege and corruption in the Teamsters. Teamster officials who have lost their outrageous multiple salaries, and who have found their corrupt practices and mob ties under intense scrutiny, are staging a counter-attack to reclaim power. Their front man is Jim Hoffa, Jr., who is running as a candidate for the top post in the Teamsters. Jim Hoffa, Jr., is a Detroit attorney and son of former Teamsters General President Jimmy Hoffa.

Jim Hoffa, Jr., claims that he's his own man, not a front for the forces of the past. Piously asserting that he wants "a corruption-free union," Hoffa Jr. assures members that there is "no place or peace for the mob and their agents in a Teamster Union." Yet an investigation of Jim Hoffa, Jr.'s record as a labor attorney, his key supporters, and campaign operatives reveals a picture substantially different from that crafted by his campaign:

- In 1991, Jim Hoffa, Jr., traveled 600 miles from his home base in Detroit to Long Island, New York to serve as legal counsel for a Teamster local associated with Nicholas "Nicky Black" Grancio, a reported captain in the Colombo crime family. As legal counsel, Hoffa Jr. worked to reinstate the employment of two officers who had been banished from the union for their ties to Grancio. In addition, Hoffa Jr. lent his name and support to a slate of incumbent candidates who refused to leave office after being voted out by the membership. In federal court, Judge Edelstein singled out Hoffa Jr.'s behavior as "irresponsible and thoughtless," and called the actions of the Hoffa-backed incumbents an "affront to the rank-and-file of the local union" and an "embarrassment to the entire IBT."

- Jim Hoffa, Jr., was a business partner with mobster Allen Dorfman -- the most important organized crime figure in Teamsters' history -- in a high-risk loan company in New York City. Dorfman was the conduit for loans to the mob from the Teamsters' largest pension fund. His rip-off of the funds, by one estimate, cost members over $385 million in bad loans and undercharges for loans to organized crime. These are costs that came directly out of benefits to retirees and the wages of working members. Yet Hoffa Jr. publicly claims he "didn't know [Dorfman's] reputation" when he went into business with him; it's hard to take those claims seriously, especially from someone who also claims to be

steeped in Teamsters' history. Dorfman had already been a focus of investigation by the Senate McClellan Committee, and had been indicted for extortion and jury tampering. Dorfman was later convicted of attempting to bribe a U.S. Senator. In 1983, he was gunned down by the mob, fearful that he might "trade his inside knowledge of the mob's financial schemes."

- Until 1991, Jim Hoffa, Jr., was legal counsel for Local 283, a small local based in Wyandotte, Michigan. Hoffa Jr. frequently touts his work for Local 283 on campaign flyers. In 1991, he claimed he was so involved in Local 283 affairs that he should be considered "employed in a Teamster's craft," qualifying him to run for General President (the Election Officer disagreed). Yet Hoffa Jr. neglects to mention that he chose to do Local 283's legal work even though the President, George Vitale, had convictions for receiving illegal kickbacks from an employer and embezzling union funds. In addition, in 1991 Vitale was suspended from the Teamsters for five years for again stealing union funds. As an attorney for the local, Jim Hoffa, Jr., assisted Vitale's reign of corruption by blocking the attempts of the membership to view the local's financial records and collective bargaining agreements.

- From 1991 through 1994, Jim Hoffa, Jr., put his legal training to work for the Michigan Conference of Teamsters Health and Welfare Fund, a $100 million trust fund in Detroit whose last two directors are currently serving prison terms. While Hoffa Jr. worked at the Fund, the executive director was convicted of receiving $460,000 in illegal kickbacks, and the trustees of the Fund were forced by the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL) to pay $725,000 in restitution to the Fund for excessive meal, entertainment, travel, and administrative expenses, including golf outings, tabs at adult clubs featuring nude dancing, and luxury automobiles. Hoffa Jr.'s association with the Fund runs deep: Larry Brennan, Jim Hoffa, Jr.'s current boss and patron, has significant control over the Fund; Hoffa Jr.'s sons Geoffrey and David, were given jobs at the Fund; and two of Hoffa Jr.'s top campaign aides George Geller and Richard Leebove, received commissions from the Fund.

- A key Jim Hoffa, Jr., campaign aide is Mike Bane, President of Local 614 in Pontiac, Michigan. Bane has been convicted stealing union funds and has been under investigation by federal authorities for ties to the Detroit Mafia. When Bane was questioned by Federal law enforcement investigators on his mob ties, Hoffa Jr. served as his attorney. In addition, Bane is a supporter of Lyndon LaRouche, a convicted felon and far right political extremist who recently completed a Federal prison term for credit card fraud. In 1994, Michael Bane signed an open letter in the *Washington Post* calling on the President of the United States to "Exonerate Lyndon H. LaRouche Now!" Bane also has a history of violence against Teamster members who express viewpoints contrary to his. Hoffa Jr. is a member of Bane's Local 614.

- Jim Hoffa, Jr., choose William Hogan Jr., President of Local 714 in Chicago, as his running mate for the post of secretary-treasurer, the second highest position in the Teamsters. Recently, Mayor Daley pulled the plug on a city loan to a mob-linked movie studio whose key investors and backers included close members of the Hogan family. The Independent Review Board (IRB) -- a court-appointed body charged with rooting out mob influence in the Teamsters -- is investigating Local 714's mob ties. The IRB has recommended charges against two members of the local, including Hogan's cousin, for "bringing reproach on the IBT" for refusing to testify on their "contacts with alleged organized crime figures." In addition, Hogan has also been connected to corruption and mafia influence at McCormick Place, a large convention center that employs Local 714 members. Hogan is one of the highest paid Teamsters in the country, raking in $233,000 in multiple salaries in 1994.

- Two of Jim Hoffa, Jr.'s key spokespersons -- Richard Leebove and George Geller -- were active propagandists and organizers for convicted felon and political extremist Lyndon LaRouche. LaRouche, convicted for credit card fraud, has a history of supporting mob elements in the Teamsters and advancing bizarre conspiracy theories. Leebove and Geller have made a career out of supporting corrupt elements and mob-linked Teamsters against rank-and-file reformers. Leebove was an editor and publisher of the newsletter of an anti-reform group called BLAST ("Brotherhood of Loyal Americans and Strong Teamsters"). BLAST was identified in a 1986 report of the President's Commission on Organized Crime as engaged in violence and intimidation against Teamster reformers.

- Only a few weeks after his father's disappearance, Jim Hoffa, Jr., tried to recover his father's hidden investments in several Pennsylvania coal mines. The investments involved associates of Hoffa Sr. with mob ties and a history of ripping off the Teamsters Central States Pension Fund.

- Jim Hoffa, Jr., served as a go-between for Hoffa Sr. and mob figures. In 1974, Hoffa Jr. met with Tony Giacolone, a Detroit mob associate who was recently indicted along with 16 other members of the Detroit Mafia. The purpose of the meeting was to patch up a feud between Hoffa Sr. and Tony Provenzano, a captain in the Genovese organized-crime family who had been appointed to the Teamsters General Executive Board by Hoffa Sr. Hoffa Jr. met again with Giacolone and his brother Vito (also indicted in the crackdown on the Detroit mob) in his law offices in 1975 to "clear the air" between Hoffa Sr. and Tony Provenzano.

- According to Hoffa Sr.'s lawyer Frank Ragano, Hoffa Jr. collected $5,000 each from mafia bosses Santo Traficante and Carlos Marcello as a wedding present to Jim Hoffa, Jr.

In sum, Jim Hoffa, Jr., has exactly the sort of background which the Teamsters Union is trying to put behind it. While Hoffa Jr. demands that the government get out of the Teamsters immediately, a Hoffa Jr. election victory would extend government oversight of the union indefinitely.

The achievements to date of rank-and-file members and the Carey administration toward ridding the union of corruption and mob influence are fragile. No one can undo in a few years the edifice of corruption built by decades of mob-backed officials. However, as this report shows, a Jim Hoffa, Jr., administration would turn back the clock to the darker days of Teamster corruption and mafia control.

With the mob and corrupt forces regaining control of the Teamsters under a Hoffa Jr. administration, pension and welfare benefits would once again be in jeopardy, members would be subject to sweetheart contracts that benefit corrupt officials, and hard-earned dues money would once again be used for the personal benefit of a privileged stratum of Teamster officials. The cost to members of a return to the days of the past would be far too high.

1 Supporting Mob Influence at Local 707

In November 1991, Jim Hoffa, Jr., took a two-month sabbatical from his Detroit law practice, traveling 600 miles to Long Island, N.Y., to serve as legal counsel for Teamsters Local 707, a local with a long history of organized-crime control. Local 707 represents highway and local motor freight drivers, dockmen and helpers in the New York City-Long Island area. Former President of Local 707 James McNeil and John Orena, the son of reputed Colombo-family head Vic Orena, are currently facing trial in a scheme to loot the Local 707 pension fund of $1.5 million dollars. Thomas Petrizzo, a captain in the Colombo organized-crime family, pled guilty to the scheme in May 1996.[1]

According to federal prosecutors, the three arranged for the Local 707 pension fund to purchase a building for the local's headquarters at an inflated price. In exchange, they received $500,000 in kickbacks. In addition, the bids for renovating the building were rigged so that a $1 million contract was won by a firm controlled by Orena and Petrizzo, both members of the Colombo crime family.[2] Over $1.5 million in pension assets was wasted; money that could have been used to strengthen the member pensions.

"Nicky Black" Grancio and Local 707

Jim Hoffa, Jr.'s decision in 1991 to expand his Detroit practice to Local 707 was curious. For

over twenty years, Local 707 was connected to the Colombo crime family. Nicholas "Nicky Black" Grancio, a member of La Cosa Nostra and reported captain in the Colombo crime family,[3] was a Vice President and Business Agent of Local 707 for over twenty years. He was banned from the Teamsters in 1989 by Frederick Lacey, the court-appointed administrator of the union.[4] Grancio was also questioned repeatedly in the execution-style shooting of Bruno Bauer, a Local 707 member who opposed Grancio's control of the union.[5]

Although Grancio was forced out of the union in 1989, he continued to have strong connections to the local. On the very day that Jim Hoffa, Jr., began his stint as legal counsel at Local 707, the Executive Board was forced to fill vacancies created by Frederick Lacey's permanent expulsion a week earlier of five top officers of the union for ties to mobster Nicky Black.[6] According to the court decision, there was "extensive evidence" that the officers

> knew of Grancio's La Cosa Nostra connections and that they nevertheless chose to associate with him. Respondents' arguments to the contrary strain belief...By tolerating and even encouraging Grancio's continued presence at the Union Hall, respondents sent a message to all IBT members that La Cosa Nostra's influence is welcome in their union. The IBT will not rid itself of La Cosa Nostra's hideous influence if Union officers casually sip coffee and present as a featured speaker a person who is widely known to be a senior member of organized crime.[7]

Jim Hoffa, Jr., chose to work for Local 707 while the ousted officials continued to fight to return to the union, appealing their banishment by Lacey. Hoffa Jr. was apparently untroubled by the prospect of the return of union officials that had "sent a message to all IBT members that La Cosa Nostra's influence is welcome in their union."

Hoffa Jr.'s Role at Local 707

The fact that Jim Hoffa, Jr., would willingly associate himself with a local whose officers had just been banished from the union a week earlier for ties to organized crime is a good measure of Hoffa Jr.'s self-professed commitment to fighting the mob. But Hoffa Jr. also played a more active role on behalf of the mob-linked officials and their agents.

As legal counsel for Local 707, Jim Hoffa, Jr., wrote several letters to Frederick Lacey -- the court-appointed officer charged with eliminating mafia influence in the Teamsters -- arguing that two of the officers that had been expelled for their links to Grancio should be reinstated to their jobs at two trucking companies.[8] However Judge Edelstein disagreed with Hoffa, ruling that

> Local 707 is not required to support the continued employment [of the ousted officers]. The Local's duty...does not extend to offering blind support for former union officials who are removed from office and banished from the IBT due to organized crime connections...In this case, the Union has only one legitimate

> constituency: the current membership of Local 707, who as this court has noted, has an 'immense stake in a Union free from the insidious effects of La Cosa Nostra.'[9]

Not content with arranging employment for officials kicked out of the union for ties to organized crime, Jim Hoffa, Jr., lent his name to a slate of incumbent candidates linked to the ousted officials.[10] An election at the local was stopped because the incumbent slate included three of the officers kicked out of the union for mob ties. In a court-ordered re-run election, the new slate included candidates who had been running mates on the first slate with three of the officials banished from the Teamsters.[11] The fact that this slate was allied with the ousted officials couldn't have been clearer: James Buckley, one of the Teamsters banned for mob ties, actively campaigned on behalf of the slate.[12]

Despite Jim Hoffa, Jr.'s endorsement of the incumbent slate ("none of them have been charged with anything," he told a reporter at a rally)[13], the Hoffa Jr.-backed candidates lost to a group of reformers seeking to rid the local of mafia influence. However, after losing the election, the defeated officers -- represented by Hoffa Jr. -- refused to leave the union or turn over power. A federal judge threatened them with fines and contempt citations, and they finally relinquished control to the elected officers. In deciding the case, Judge Edelstein sternly rebuked Hoffa Jr. and the old guard incumbents:

> It is time for the seven incumbent officers of Local 707...and Mr. Hoffa to realize that Local 707 is not their personal fief. Put colloquially, the incumbents are not children and Local 707 is not a 'ball' that they can take home when they do not like how others are playing...By refusing to leave office, the incumbents have violated the IBT constitution, which they swore to uphold, and have defied the wishes of the Local Union's membership as expressed in the election ousting them from office.[14]

Furthermore, Judge Edelstein singled out Hoffa Jr.'s behavior as "irresponsible and thoughtless," and called the actions of the Hoffa-backed incumbents an "affront to the rank-and-file of the Local Union" and an "embarrassment to the entire IBT."[15]

In a chilling reminder of the murderous nature of the mob, during the re-run election at Local 707, Nicky Black Grancio was assassinated in a mob war between separate factions of the Colombo Family. Jim Hoffa, Jr., traveled nearly halfway across the country to campaign for and defend officials linked to this Colombo crime family captain. For his "work," Hoffa Jr. was paid $175 an hour.

2 Business Partners With Allen Dorfman - The Most Important Mob Figure in Teamsters' History

Allen Dorfman, one of Hoffa Sr.'s closest associates, was the conduit for loans to the mob from the Teamsters Central States pension and health funds in the sixties and seventies. According to Hoffa historian Dan Moldea, Dorfman's "job was to be sure that every section of organized crime got its fair share of the union's billion-dollar pension and welfare funds."[16] By any account, Dorfman was one of the most important mafia figures in the history of the Teamsters. His rip-off of the Teamsters Central States Pension Fund cost members over $385 million in bad loans and undercharges for loans to organized crime.[17] These are costs that came directly out of benefits to retirees and the wages of working members. Some examples of Dorfman's schemes to rip off the Fund include:

- In 1974, Dorfman was indicted in connection with a $1.4 million pension fund loan to Gaylur Products Company, a mob-controlled company. The mob backers of Gaylur Products -- which had already defaulted on a previous $4.5 million loan from the Fund -- planned to take the money and run, defaulting on the loan. In exchange, Dorfman and his Chicago mob associates -- including Joseph "the Clown" Lombardo and Tony Spilotro -- received thousands of dollars in kickbacks for their participation in the scheme.[18]

- In 1972, Dorfman was convicted of receiving $55,000 in cash kickbacks in exchange for a $1.5 million pension fund loan to George Horvath. Horvath had already received five different loans from the Fund totaling over $15 million. However, these loans were never paid back because each of Horvath's "businesses" (including a mohair company) went bankrupt.[19]

They were deals like these that cost Teamster members millions of dollars in lost pension benefits and lost wages to make up for the shortfall in the Fund.

Hoffa Jr. and Dorfman

Despite Jim Hoffa, Jr.'s claim that he has "never associated with organized crime," in the late sixties Hoffa Jr. was a partner with Dorfman in a high risk loan company in New York City.[20] "It was a limited-partnership investment," Hoffa Jr. has said, and Dorfman "was one of the limited partners." Hoffa Jr. claims he "didn't know [Dorfman's] reputation" when he got involved in the deal.[21] However, it is hard to imagine how Hoffa could not have known of Dorfman's reputation:

- In 1953, Dorfman was subpoenaed before the U.S. House of Representatives Government Operations investigating the misuse of union welfare funds and labor racketeering. Dorfman declined to answer any questions.[22]

- In 1959, Dorfman was called before the U.S. Senate McClellan Committee to testify on corruption and racketeering at the Central States Pension Fund. He took the Fifth amendment on every question.[23] The committee report, which was widely distributed and reported in the media, noted Dorfman's extensive role in Central States' abuses and mob ties.

- In 1963, Dorfman was indicted as Hoffa Sr.'s co-conspirator in a jury-fixing scheme. Hoffa Sr. was later convicted and sent to prison for eight years.[24] In that trial, Jim Hoffa, Jr., acted as part of the legal team.

- In 1964, Dorfman and his father were indicted for extorting $100,000 from an insurance executive: "Allen Dorfman made several phone calls in which he threatened to kill Hoppes' [the insurance executive] family and put him in a 'concrete overcoat.'"[25]

- In 1967, Dorfman was ambushed in a shotgun attack. According to one account, it was a warning from the mob to Dorfman that the Central States Pension "Fund wasn't just his and it wasn't even just for the Chicago boys."[26]

While Jim Hoffa, Jr., says he didn't know Dorfman had a reputation, most reasonable people would consider being hauled before Congressional Committees, ambushed in a gangland-style shotgun attack, and indicted for extortion and jury tampering as a "reputation."

After Hoffa Jr. got out of the partnership, Dorfman was convicted of attempting to bribe a U.S. Senator. In 1983, he was gunned down by the mob, fearful that he might "trade his inside knowledge of the mob's financial schemes."[27]

3 Choosing to Represent George Vitale and Local 283

For more than 20 years, Jim Hoffa, Jr., was legal counsel for Teamsters Local 283, a small local based in Wyandotte, Michigan. In addition, Hoffa Jr. paid dues as member of Local 283 through 1991. (Hoffa Jr. was only employed as an attorney for the local. To become a member of a Teamsters local does not require that a person actually *work* as a Teamster; e.g., drive a truck, load or unload freight, etc.) Jim Hoffa, Jr. frequently touts his work for Local 283 on campaign

flyers, and in 1991 he claimed he was so actively involved in Local 283 affairs that he should be considered "employed in a Teamster's craft" (qualifying him to run for general president).

Jim Hoffa, Jr., represented Local 283 while George Vitale was President of that Local. When Hoffa Jr. took the job, he must have known that Vitale had a history of corruption. Vitale had been first convicted in 1972 of receiving illegal kickbacks from an employer of Local 283 members and embezzling union funds, including a Cadillac.[28]

Vitale turned out to be a repeat offender. In 1991, Frederick Lacey, a court-appointed officer overseeing the Teamsters, suspended Vitale from the Teamsters for five years after finding him guilty of embezzling $10,116 in Local 283 funds, filing false and misleading financial records, and attempting to embezzle a $25,000 Lincoln Town Car.[29] The charges against Vitale noted that "embezzlement was undertaken by [Vitale] in full knowledge that the Local...was in precarious financial condition."

Vitale was also charged with deliberately keeping Local 283 members in the dark about union affairs to facilitate his reign of corruption. Charles Carberry, a court-appointed investigator appointed to root out corruption in the Teamsters, accused Vitale of the following:

> To further your pattern and practice of using your positions at Local 283 corruptly and for your personal benefit, you have actively discouraged members' participation in the affairs of the union and deliberately sought to keep them ignorant of the duties and actions of the executive board of Local 283, and otherwise sought to keep hidden union information of which the membership should have been informed.[30]

Carberry specifically referred to two instances of this pattern in which Jim Hoffa, Jr., played an active role.

First, Vitale refused to allow members of the local to review their collective bargaining agreements -- information members had a right to under federal law, the IBT Constitution, and Local 283 Bylaws. In Federal Court, ***Jim Hoffa, Jr. defended Vitale's decision to keep members from seeing their own contracts***. However, the judge agreed with the Local 283 members and issued a temporary restraining order directing open access to the agreements.[31]

Second, after losing an election to a slate of reform candidates, Vitale refused to let the new officers review the local's books and records. The reform candidates were particularly concerned about the local's finances given that Vitale had tried a month earlier to embezzle a Lincoln Town Car (a charge that eventually got him thrown out of the union). Yet ***Hoffa Jr. strenuously defended Vitale's decision in Federal Court to keep the local's financial records secret***. The Court disagreed with Hoffa Jr., issuing an injunction requiring a open access to the union's records and requiring approval by the new officers for expenditure of funds.[32] In

connection with the case, the judge lambasted Hoffa Jr. for wasting member dues on the litigation:

> Your conduct is needlessly wasteful and expensive, and a burden on the Court, on counsel, and on your own client. And I think if you're going to continue to represent this client, you should reevaluate your position. The people you represent work hard. They do physical labor for a livelihood. They are not lawyers, and most of them have no hope of ever becoming a lawyer. They hope, in fact, through their membership in a union such as this to be able to educate their children as your parents were able to, to spare them the back-breaking work they are undergoing. Their dues in this organization are paid to advance their lives, not to set off your ego.[33]

Local 283 dues also were used to pay Jim Hoffa, Jr.'s legal bills. Despite the poor financial situation of the local, Hoffa billed the small local an average of $4,400 a month for an average of 60 hours of work per month.[34]

Apart from his history of embezzlement, Vitale was also charged with ties to an organized crime figure. In 1990, Carberry charged that in 1979 Vitale unlawfully solicited "money from Allen Dorfman...a known associate of Joseph Lombardi, a member of the Chicago Family of La Cosa Nostra."[35] Dorfman, a close associate of Hoffa Sr. and a partner with Jim Hoffa, Jr., in a business in the late sixties (see Section 2), was the mob's money man who looted the Teamsters' largest pension fund.

After Vitale was removed from office, the Executive Board voted that it was not "in the Local's best interest" to continue employing Hoffa Jr. as Local 283's attorney. In addition, the Board voted to require Hoffa to withdraw his membership in Local 283.[36]

4 Corruption at the Michigan Conference of Teamsters Health and Welfare Fund

After Jim Hoffa, Jr., was dropped as legal counsel at Local 283, he -- and his small law firm of two partners -- began a three-year stint representing the Michigan Conference of Teamsters Health and Welfare Fund (the Fund),[37] an $101 million trust fund that provides health, welfare, and disability benefits to approximately 19,000 Teamster members in Michigan.[38]

Jim Hoffa, Jr.'s opportunity for legal work at the Fund was likely influenced by his mentor Larry Brennan, a longtime supporter of a Hoffa Jr. candidacy for General President. He is the son of Bert Brennan, a partner of Hoffa Sr. in crime and business. As the President of the Michigan

Teamsters Joint Council 43, a statewide body of Michigan Teamsters' locals, Brennan has significant authority over the administration of the Fund. Three of the six trustees of the Fund are appointed by the Brennan-dominated Joint Council, while the other three are chosen by employers contributing to the Fund. In 1990, Brennan also began paying Hoffa Jr. a salary as an "administrative assistant" to the Joint Council, a post which Hoffa still holds today.[39] It is this position that renders Hoffa Jr. eligible to run as general president.

Brennan's likely influence in securing legal work for Jim Hoffa, Jr., appears to fit a pattern of using the Fund to bankroll a patronage system. Hoffa Jr.'s sons, Geoffrey and David, were employed at the Fund; Brennan's son was on the payroll;[40] Richard Leebove, who currently handles public relations for the Hoffa Jr. campaign (see Section 7 below), was given work by the Fund;[41] and George Geller, a Detroit attorney who represents the Hoffa Jr. faction in election matters and public relations (see Section 7 below), also was given work by the Fund.[42] In many respects, the Fund served as a slush fund for sustaining Hoffa Jr.'s longtime political associates and allies.

Approximately 19,000 working and retired Teamsters and their spouses, children, and other dependents rely upon the Michigan Fund to provide a critical component of a decent standard of living -- health care. As an attorney to the health care fund, Jim Hoffa, Jr., was not merely another commercial vendor. Rather, he was required to act according to the highest professional and ethical standards. Instead, as we show below, Hoffa Jr. did literally nothing while his cronies used their members' precious health care dollars as a slush fund to finance high living at Detroit night spots, nude dancing clubs, restaurants, and golf courses. In fact, while Hoffa Jr.'s allies lived high off their salaries and lavish expense accounts from the Fund, Hoffa Jr. made his money defending the Fund against Teamster members who were trying to collect their health and disability benefits.

Corruption at the Fund

When choosing to represent the Fund in 1991, Jim Hoffa, Jr. must have been aware of its history of corruption. In 1986, a trustee, Richard Fitzsimmons (son of Frank Fitzsimmons, former head of the Teamsters), and the executive director of the Fund, Charles Collins, were convicted of steering health care contracts to their business cronies in return for kickbacks, trips, entertainment, and promises of future employment (Fitzsimmons and Collins stopped appealing their convictions in 1991).[43]

According to court documents, Allen Dorfman -- a mobster with whom Hoffa Jr. had entered into an earlier business partnership (see Section 2 above) -- acted as a key middleman in the rip-off scheme: "Dorfman and Schwartz [a Dorfman associate] were highly influential with Fund officials and their approval was a prerequisite for doing business with the Fund."[44] Demanding a cut from the businesses seeking contracts from the Fund, Dorfman and his associate were recorded by the FBI discussing the "staggering" amount of money to be made at the Fund, noting

that there "won't be enough hours...or enough places to hide the money."[45] Dorfman was assassinated in a mob hit before he could be convicted of crimes involving the Fund.

It was in this context of corruption that Jim Hoffa, Jr., and his law firm began their work for the Fund in 1991. The executive director of the Fund at that time, Gerald Wiedyk, had replaced Collins after his 1987 conviction. Wiedyk had served as executive assistant to Collins during the rip-off of the Fund in the eighties. Given Wiedyk's association with the past corruption at the Fund, anyone working for the Fund -- and especially an attorney with high ethical and professional standards -- should have been concerned about possible future wrongdoing.

Concern would have been warranted because in 1993 Wiedyk was indicted for taking $460,000 in illegal kickbacks from a medical laboratory that did business with the Fund. According to court records, the services provided by the laboratory were substandard, endangering the lives of Teamster members.[46] Although Richard Leebove, Hoffa Jr.'s current campaign spokesperson, issued a press release for the Fund stating that the charges were "not substantiated,"[47] Wiedyk was nevertheless convicted of the charges. Wiedyk was receiving these kickbacks while Hoffa Jr. was working for the Fund, a fund that prosecutors described in court as a "den of iniquity."[48] This characterization would prove accurate a year later.

In 1994, the Fund was once again facing legal action. The U.S. Department of Labor (DOL) forced the Trustees of the Fund to pay $725,000 in restitution for excessive meal, entertainment, travel and administrative expenses, including golf outings, adult entertainment, and new automobiles.[49] These excessive expenses occurred between 1989 and 1994, when Hoffa Jr. was defending the Fund against Teamster members seeking to collect health and disability benefits. The DOL's investigation also revealed that Larry Brennan, who had authority over the Fund as President of the Joint Council, was a beneficiary of the corruption. In 1991, Brennan bought an automobile from the fund for just $6,500, when the car cost the Fund nearly $16,000.[50]

Department of Labor investigators found many examples of improper expenditures at the Fund during the 1989 -- 1994 period, including:

- $99,000 for "golf outings, bowling and other entertainment, including 'adult entertainment' featuring nude or topless female dancers;"
- $145,000 spent predominantly at local restaurants for luncheons and dinners whose purpose was "primarily social in nature;"
- $36,000 for "retirement parties, receptions, and liquor;"
- $94,000 for "flowers, donuts, milk, coffee and other refreshments for Plan staff;"
- $87,000 for "travel and entertainment expenses related to the participation in, or the

Plan's sponsorship of golf events. These expenses included the cost of awards, including cash prizes, and golf equipment and supplies, such as, $217.27 for 'Golf balls for England trip,' or $145.00 for 5000 imprinted golf tees;"

- Over $190,000 was spent on "out of town travel to golf and vacation resorts amid high cost metropolitan areas for golf tournaments, conventions, and employee benefit conferences;"

- The acquisition of "28 full-sized or luxury vehicles at a total (purchase) cost of more than $656,000, which were provided, without limitation, to as many as ten Plan employees for their business and personal use...Certain Plan administrative and marketing employees were provided with a new vehicle every two years, and the entire cost of operating the autos, including car washes and personal gasoline, was paid by the Plan."[51]

The sheer magnitude of the excessive expenditures at the Fund makes it hard to imagine how anybody with an interest in protecting Teamsters' hard-earned money could have overlooked these abuses. Yet Jim Hoffa, Jr., not only chose to look the other way while his associates and political allies looted the Fund, but he collected his fees defending the Fund against Teamster members seeking to collect health and disability benefits. For example, Hoffa Jr.'s firm worked to deny benefits to a Teamster whose leg had been amputated,[52] and to the widow of a Teamster member seeking to collect her husband's death and pension benefits.[53] Just a few nights of abstinence by the Fund employees could have easily paid these benefits.

5 Connections to Mike Bane

After his membership in Local 283 was taken away in 1991 (see Section 3 above), Jim Hoffa, Jr., needed to find another Teamster local to join in order to be eligible to run for general president. There were two available routes to a Teamsters membership. He could work as a regular Teamster (e.g., driving a truck or unloading freight) -- something he has or had never done on a full-time basis, except for a few summer jobs arranged by his father -- or he could find a Teamster local to sponsor his membership. Hoffa Jr. choose the latter route, transferring his membership to Local 614, a small local in Pontiac, Michigan, controlled by Mike Bane. Hoffa Jr. had also served as legal counsel for Local 614.

Local 614 was a logical choice since it had once been the stronghold of Hoffa Jr.'s father. For example, Hoffa Sr. had used Local 614 funds to remodel the Hoffa family's summer home in Lake Orion, Michigan, and for the family's hunting lodge in Iron Mountain, Michigan.[54] In addition, former Local 614 President Joseph Bane Sr. -- father of Mike Bane -- was convicted in

1977 of embezzling union funds by providing a no-show job at the local for William Hoffa, the brother of Hoffa Sr.[55]

Following tradition, Mike Bane and his local have been strong supporters of Jim Hoffa, Jr. Recent campaign disclosure reports indicate that members of Local 614, through the Hoffa Support Team, have provided $38,000 to the Hoffa Jr. campaign.[56] Mike Bane also serves as a strategist in the Hoffa campaign. Jim Hoffa, Jr., who has campaigned for Mike Bane's election as the head of Local 614, has said of Bane: "Mike and I share the same dream for this great international union."[57] However, a close look at Mike Bane's record suggests their dream would be a nightmare for Teamster members.

Mike Bane was convicted of stealing union funds from a Michigan labor union in 1978[58] and was dismissed from his job as a Local 614 business agent for using a union credit card for personal use.[59] In addition, Mike Bane has been questioned repeatedly by the U.S. Justice Department and the Department of Labor's Office of Labor Racketeering for his ties to the mob in Detroit. In connection with the investigation, federal agents have raided the offices of Local 614 several times. When questioned about his mob ties in 1992, Mike Bane was represented by Hoffa Jr.[60]

In 1991, Mike Bane hired twice-convicted felon Kenneth Baker as a "janitor" for over a year, providing him with a union car and credit card -- a highly unusual perk for a janitor. Baker was convicted in 1978 on a gambling conspiracy charge. One of his co-defendants included Vito Giacolone[61], a captain in the Detroit Mafia, who was recently charged with 13 counts of racketeering, conspiracy and extortion along with 16 other members of the Detroit mob.[62] Federal authorities have long been investigating Mike Bane's link with Giacolone.[63]

Mike Bane also has a history as a union-buster. After he was released from prison in the early eighties for embezzling union funds, Bane signed on as a supervisor and boss at Shortway Airport Limousines.[64] As a boss for Shortway, Bane was involved in attempt to eliminate the unionized employees at Suburban Lines, Inc., a bus line in Pittsburgh purchased by Shortway and represented by Local 1543 of the Amalgamated Transit Union.[65] Shortway hoped to lower costs by eliminating the union, paying significantly lower wages and no pension or health benefits. However, the National Labor Relations Board ruled against Shortway, requiring the company to reinstate all former employees to their old jobs with back pay.[66]

Apart from his practice of busting unions, Mike Bane is also a supporter of Lyndon LaRouche, a convicted felon and far-right political extremist. In 1994, Bane signed an open letter in the *Washington Post* calling on the President of the United States to "Exonerate Lyndon H. LaRouche Now!"[67] LaRouche was convicted of using false credit card billings to fund his political organization. Mike Bane also has employed George Geller, a former LaRouche operative (see Section 7 below), as Local 614's legal counsel.[68]

Mike Bane also has a violent side. In 1968, newspapers around the country carried a wire service

news photo of Bane savagely kicking a prone Bernard Jakubus, a Local 299 member in Detroit. Jakubus had aroused Bane's anger by passing out leaflets in front of Local 299.[69]

Mike Bane has had his brother, Joe Bane, Jr., on the Local 614 payroll as an organizer.[70] In 1979, Joe Bane, Jr., a business agent at Local 614, was sentenced to five years in federal prison after being convicted of receiving an $8,000 kickback from a Michigan trucking firm that Bane had threatened with violence and labor unrest. (In exchange for the guilty verdict by Joe Bane Jr., federal authorities agreed to drop separate charges against him in a police corruption case.)[71] He was also sentenced to 5-10 in years in federal prison in 1979 after being convicted of paying $4,000 to a hit man to have another man beaten and maimed.[72] Joe Bane, Jr., also was convicted of violating state gambling laws in 1980.[73]

In light of the long history of corruption and mob ties of the Bane family at Local 614, it speaks volumes that Jim Hoffa, Jr., -- who claims that he will rid the Teamsters of corruption -- would campaign on behalf of, and select as a campaign aide, convicted felon Mike Bane.

6 William Hogan Jr. : The Running Mate Who Symbolizes the Teamsters' Corrupt Past

Jim Hoffa, Jr., chose William Hogan, Jr., President of Local 714 in Chicago, as his running mate for the post of secretary-treasurer, the second highest position in the Teamsters. Recently, Mayor Daley pulled the plug on a city loan to a mob-linked movie studio whose key investors and backers included close members of the Hogan family. The Independent Review Board -- a court-appointed body created to root out mob influence in the Teamsters -- has recommended charges be brought against two members of Local 714, including Hogan Jr.'s cousin, for "bringing reproach on the IBT" for refusing to testify on their "contacts with alleged organized crime figures."[74] In addition, Hogan Jr. has also been connected to corruption and mafia influence at McCormick Place, a large convention center that employs Local 714 members.

Hogan Jr. also has a high number of relatives on the payroll at Local 714, and is one of the highest paid Teamsters in the country. Hogan lost one of his multiple salaries in 1994 as a result of Ron Carey's move eliminating the Area Conferences, a $15-million- a-year layer of Teamster bureaucracy and patronage whose chief purpose was to provide extra salaries for officials who were already receiving full-time salaries and benefits as local union leaders.

The StudioWorks Scandal

In the summer of 1995, Mayor Richard Daley nixed a $5.5 million low-interest loan for a movie studio called StudioWorks after reading a confidential FBI report indicating the investors may have been linked to Chicago mob boss Sam "Wings" Carlisi. One of the key investors was James F. Hogan, a cousin of Hogan Jr. Hogan Jr.'s two sons, William III and James, are principal officers in Movies in Motion Inc., (listing Hogan Jr.'s residence as their home address), a movie production company with ties to the deal. A third son, Robert, who is the recording secretary of Hogan Jr.'s Local 714, was the company's secretary from 1987 to 1988.[75] According to the FBI report, moving picture companies that do not use Movies in Motion "experience problems and delays in producing films...or experience vandalized/destroyed equipment."[76]

Mob-linked investors in StudioWorks and Movies in Motion, Inc., include William and Salvatore Galioto. According to court records and filings, William Galioto, 57, has been accused by federal investigators of failing to file federal income tax returns for at least seven years and of fronting for his brother-in-law, James J. Marcello. Marcello is serving a 12-year sentence for racketeering and federal tax fraud. Prosecutors described Marcello...as the Chicago mob's No. 2 man behind the also jailed Carlisi.[77] In addition, both Galiotos were indicted on gambling charges in DuPage County in 1994.[78]

Hogan Jr.'s Local 714 has responsibility for organizing companies in the movie industry in Chicago. Press leaks of a 1993 FBI report indicated a "viselike grip held by organized crime over local [movie] production companies."[79]

The Independent Review Board has recommended charges be brought against two members of Local 714, including Hogan Jr.'s cousin, for "bringing reproach on the IBT" for refusing to testify on their "contacts with alleged organized crime figures."[80]

Local 714: A Job Bank for the "Who's Who in the Chicago Crime Syndicate"

In the early seventies, Teamster Local 714 was under investigation by the FBI and the Chicago Crime Commission for racketeering, shakedowns, extortion and payoffs at the McCormick Place convention center.[81] Hogan Jr. was president of the local at that time. Hogan Jr. family members were also officials at the union, including William Hogan Sr. (secretary-treasurer), James M. Hogan (trustee), and James J. Hogan (business agent).[82]

The investigation revealed that Local 714 had high-ranking mob figures on the payroll. The *Chicago Tribune* called the mobsters a "Who's Who in the Chicago Crime Syndicate."[83] According to Ray Schoessling, head of the Teamsters Joint Council and Metropolitan Fair and Exposition Authority at the time, the mobsters were "foisted on the hall" by Local 714, which he

called a "hoodlum dominated" union.[84] Mob figures working for the Hogan's Local 714 included:

> **Ernest "Rocco" Infelice:** "Member of crime syndicate hierarchy convicted of a narcotics sale in 1973 as a result of heroin traffic negotiated at McCormick Place while he was a member of Teamsters Local 714."[85]
>
> **Mario Garelli**: " Dope dealer, convicted with Infelice in narcotics sales negotiated at McCormick Place."[86]
>
> **Charles "Specs" DiCaro**: "Ex-convict and cartage thief, bodyguard to South Side mob captain Ralph Pierce when not at McCormick Place."[87]
>
> **Rocco "The Parrot" Potenza**: "crime syndicate czar in the north suburbs."[88]
>
> **Americo DePietto**: "Mob gambling boss and long-time associate of James (Cowboy) Mirro, Southwest side gambling chief."[89]
>
> **Wayne Bock**: "Strong-arm aide to syndicate hoodlums and one-time player for the University of Illinois and Chicago Cardinals football teams."[90]

After press reports indicated the mobsters were employed at Local 714, Hogan family officials at Local 714 did not take any action to fire the hoodlums. Schoessling had to directly intervene and order their dismissal: "Hogan...refused to convey Schoessling's order to the hoodlums personally and has refused to answer questions about the ouster."[91]

Other mobsters found at McCormick and linked by the press with Local 714 include Sam Bonglorno, "Known gambler with syndicate connections, and a member of Local 714", and Joseph Nicoletti, "convicted of perjury in the income tax trial of Anthony Accardo, recognized syndicate boss and known terrorist in maintaining union control. He is known to switch allegiance to Teamsters Local 714."[92] In addition, David Kaye, a steward and business agent for Local 714 at McCormick Place, was convicted of racketeering activity and extortion in 1977. These acts occurred under the Hogan's control of the union.[93]

Problems with Local 714 and Hogan Jr. continue to plague McCormick Place. According to a recent complaint filed in federal court by MCM Partners, an exhibition contractor at McCormick Place, Hogan Jr. and Local 714 colluded with a rival equipment company, O.G. Service Corp., to maintain a monopoly at the convention center. O.G. Service Corp. is owned by Nick Boscarino, a union steward at Local 714. According to the complaint, when companies tried to change equipment suppliers, they were threatened by Hogan Jr. and the local with strikes and damage to their property.[94]

The Hogan Labor Dynasty

Local 714 has long been operated like a family dynasty. Hogan Jr. moved up to the top job (secretary-treasurer) succeeding his father, William Hogan, Sr., in 1990. Hogan Sr. was making $214,000 in salary when he retired from Local 714. Upon retirement, Hogan Sr. was given a $30,000 car paid for by Local 714 dues.[95] In 1994, the Hogans employed by Local 714 (Hogan Jr., James M. Hogan, and Robert Hogan) and Joint Council 25 grossed over $458,000 in salaries and disbursements.[96]

Hogan Jr., however, is unconcerned about charges of nepotism: "I'm living proof that nepotism works," Hogan said in 1991 meeting.[97] He adds that the Hogans "were born to do the job. We've been here for years...Whether somebody else likes us doesn't matter."[98]

7 Richard Leebove and George Geller: Hoffa's LaRouche Connection

Richard Leebove has been a spokesperson for Jim Hoffa, Jr., and currently handles public relations for the Hoffa Jr. campaign. George Geller, a Detroit attorney, has represented Jim Hoffa, Jr., in election matters and public relations. Both Leebove and Geller would likely have influence in any Hoffa Jr. administration.

Leebove and Geller were active propagandists and organizers for political extremist Lyndon LaRouche from the early seventies to the early eighties. As long-term operatives in LaRouche's organization, they gained influence in Teamster affairs by supporting and assisting corrupt elements and mob-linked Teamsters against rank-and-file democratic reformers. The two engaged in activities that included:

- As a member and official of the United States Labor Party (USLP), a LaRouche political organization, Richard Leebove played a key role in support of the re-election of John Cody as President of Local 282 in Long Island. John Cody, associate of the late mob boss Carlos Gambino,[99] was convicted in 1982 of receiving illegal labor payments and tax evasion. These crimes involved various schemes by which Cody enriched himself through his Teamsters positions.[100] According to a 1978 article in New Solidarity, a LaRouche publication, Leebove played an active role on behalf of Cody, smearing reformers as part of a "London-Wall Street-Rockefellers-Kennedys conspiracy" to destroy the Teamsters.[101] Local 282 was subsequently the subject of a massive Federal racketeering lawsuit by the U.S. Department of Justice.

- While working for the United States Labor Party, Leebove was associated with IBT General Organizer Rolland McMaster, who publicly endorsed Lyndon LaRouche for President in 1980. Dennis King, in his extensively researched book *Lyndon LaRouche and the New American Fascism*, describes Leebove as a "McMaster crony" and active in "McMaster's so-called Teamster Committee to Elect LaRouche President."[102] McMaster has a long record of corruption and mob involvement: he was convicted on 32 counts of labor extortion[103], and took the Fifth Amendment more than 50 times before the McClellan Committee's congressional investigation of labor racketeering.[104] According to one account of McMaster's involvement with the mob, "McMaster was a personal Hoffa [Sr.] liaison to Meyer Lansky, Santos Trafficante, the Dorfman family and the syndicate in Chicago, and the Genovese mob in New Jersey and New York."[105]

- Both Geller and Leebove wrote for the *American Labor Beacon*, a LaRouche-backed labor newspaper that explicitly defended mob elements in organized labor from what it claimed was a conspiracy by the federal government, the media, and others.[106] IBT mobsters championed by the ALB included:

  Tony Provenzano:[107] A captain in the Genovese organized-crime family, he was convicted in 1978 of murdering a popular Teamster Local 560 member who opposed Provenzano's leadership of Local 560[108], convicted in 1979 of receiving payoffs from trucking companies in return for labor peace[109], and convicted in 1977 of a conspiracy to pay a kickback to a trustee of the New York State Teamsters in exchange for a loan.[110]

  Frank Sheeran:[111] A member of La Cosa Nostra, he was convicted in 1980 of receiving illegal labor payments[112], and convicted in 1981 of planning to blow up a building belonging to an employer and to assault an official of that company.[113]

  Nunzio Provenzano:[114] Brother of Tony Provenzano and member of the La Cosa Nostra, he was convicted in 1980 of accepting illegal labor payments in exchange for labor peace.[115]

  Vincent Meli:[116] A member of the Detroit mob, he was convicted in 1979 of extorting benefit payments from Teamster drivers.[117]

In the early eighties, Leebove and Geller left Lyndon LaRouche to work with a splinter faction in Detroit, continuing their career of attacking reform elements within the union and defending corruption on behalf of Teamster locals and funds. Some of their primary clients have included key Hoffa Jr. backers: Larry Brennan's Local 337 and Joint Council 43, George Vitale's Local 283, and Michael Bane's Local 614. Both have worked for the Michigan Conference of Teamsters Health and Welfare Fund. Some of their exploits include:

- In 1983, Leebove was hired by Robert Holmes Sr., an IBT international Vice President and President of Local 337 in Detroit, as a $1,000-a-week communications aide.[118] Larry Brennan was vice president of the local at that time. Leebove was hired to use his propaganda and smear skills against a slate of reformers challenging Holmes' control of Local 337.[119] Holmes and Leebove were later sued by the reform slate in federal court, which forced Holmes to distribute his opponents' campaign literature in the union newspaper (and pay their legal bills).[120] Holmes resigned his post as International VP in 1989 as a result of the Justice Department's racketeering suit against him and other top officials of the Teamsters.[121]

- Leebove wrote and published *The Rank-And-File Defender*, the newsletter of an anti-reform group called BLAST ("Brotherhood of Loyal Americans and Strong Teamsters"). BLAST was identified in a 1986 report of the President's Commission on Organized Crime as engaged in violence and intimidation against the Teamsters for Democratic Union, a reform group seeking to expand democracy within the union.[122]

- In 1993, Leebove and Geller instigated attacks against the Trustee of the Chicago-based Local 705. The trusteeship had been recommended by the Independent Review Board.[123] Local 705 had been headed by Dan Ligurotis, who was removed from office by Frederick Lacey, a court-appointed officer. Lacey charged that Ligurotis used Local 705 as his "personal piggy bank," embezzled funds from the local, and put three convicted felons on the payroll.[124] A review of the books of Local 705 by the trustees found that former officials of the local had defrauded $4 million from the local. Examples of financial mismanagement at the local included the purchase of two bronze busts of Dan Ligurotis, former leader of the local, for $14,000 in union funds.[125]

- In 1993, Leebove and Geller were sources of a smear campaign alleging that Ron Carey had mob ties and accepted payoffs. However, the Independent Review Board cleared Carey of all charges, noting that the "allegations came from, or were stimulated by, Carey's political opposition." The Review Board specifically named Leebove and Geller as sources of the allegations.[126]

8 Mining With the Mob

Only a few weeks after his father's disappearance, Jim Hoffa, Jr. repeatedly tried to recover his father's hidden investment in several Pennsylvania coal mines. The half-a-million-dollar investment involved associates of Hoffa Sr. with mob ties and a history of ripping off the Teamsters Central States Pension Fund.

The Investment

After Hoffa Sr. was released from prison in 1971 -- and flush with cash from his Teamsters' pension (over $1.5 million) -- Hoffa Sr. hooked up with James Durkin, Sr. Durkin, who owned several coal mines in Eastern Pennsylvania, was attempting to buy out the owners of Raymond Colliery, Blue Coal Corporation, and several other coal mining companies.[127] Hoffa Sr. apparently became involved in the deal when Durkin tried to arrange a $13 million loan from the Teamsters Central States Pension Fund.[128]

However, Durkin's request for the loan was turned down by the Fund. According to one report, Durkin was denied the loan because he had refused a request by Bill Presser -- a trustee of the Fund and father of former IBT head Jackie Presser -- to contribute $100,000 to the Nixon campaign in exchange for the loan.[129] Without financing, Hoffa Sr. and Durkin enlisted the support of Hyman Green, a financier with a long history of borrowing from Teamsters' pension funds.[130]

The three partners formed a holding company in 1973 -- the Great American Coal Company -- with Durkin holding 40% of stock, Green holding 10%, and Hoffa Sr. owning the rest. However, Hoffa Sr.'s interest in the company was hidden.[131] Eventually, Great American Coal was able to borrow $8.5 million from Institutional Investors Trust, a New York real estate investment company, to purchase the coal companies. In addition, Great American received several other loans, with a substantial amount coming from James Tedesco, an associate of Durkin. According to court records, Hoffa Sr. deposited $300,000 in cash at a bank owned by Tedesco to serve as collateral for a loan advanced by Tedesco to Great American.[132] While the exact level of Hoffa Sr.'s investment in the coal mines still remains a mystery, his estate listed two promissory notes from principals in the coal mines totaling over half-a-million dollars.

The Partners

Hoffa Sr.'s associates in the coal mine deal -- James Durkin, Hyman Green, and James Tedesco-- all had connections with organized crime.

Durkin, who once was a Pennsylvania state trooper, received several loans from the Teamsters Central States Pension Fund, including a $4.5 million loan in 1967 to purchase the Pocono Downs race track in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. Backers in Pocono Downs included Fred Correale, who was convicted of criminal tax charges and named by the Pennsylvania Crime Commission as an organized crime member, and a company called the Emprise Corporation. In 1972, Emprise was convicted together with Mafia figures from Detroit and St. Louis on charges of secretly controlling the Frontier Hotel in Las Vegas.[133]

Durkin, who was later convicted in 1985 for the theft of $4.1 million of Chase Manhattan bank

funds through fraudulent loans, was also named in a 1980 Pennsylvania Crime Commission Report as involved in "questionable acts."[134]

Hyman Green -- another partner in the Hoffa Sr. coal mine deal -- also had connections with mob figures and the Teamsters Central States Pension Fund. In 1964, Green participated in a land development scheme in Los Angeles called Beverly Ridge Estates. Beverly Ridge was financed by a $13.5 million loan from the Teamsters Central States Pension Fund[135], and one of the backers included Allen Glick, a front man for the mob in Las Vegas.[136] The loan would later go belly-up, leaving Teamster members over $17 million in the hole (the loan plus interest).

In the seventies, Green also tried to borrow $35 million from Teamsters Local 282 Pension and Trust Fund to purchase 10 acres of land and construct a hotel and gambling casino on the "Strip" in Las Vegas, Nevada.[137] The Fund was controlled by John Cody, an associate of the late mob boss Carlos Gambino,[138] who was convicted in 1982 of receiving illegal labor payments and tax evasion. However, the Fund was stopped from making the loan by the Department of Labor because it constituted over 60% of the Fund's assets.[139]

James Tedesco, another investor in the coal mine operation with Hoffa Sr., also was connected to the mob. Tedesco was convicted in 1944 and again in 1977 in coal price-fixing schemes, according to the Pennsylvania Crime Commission's 1980 annual report. The Crime Commission report also identified Tedesco as having longtime links to the Bufalino organized crime family.[140] The Bufalino family has been closely linked to Hoffa Sr. William Bufalino, Hoffa Sr.'s close aide and personal lawyer, was a cousin of Russell Bufalino, the head of the Bufalino crime family. William Bufalino was also married to the niece of Vincent Meli, a Detroit mob figure.[141]

Hoffa Junior's Role

On July 30, 1975, Hoffa Sr. was scheduled to meet for lunch with Tony Provenzano -- a long-time mob associate of Hoffa Sr.'s from New Jersey -- and Tony Jack Giacolone, a Detroit Mafia lieutenant close to Hoffa Sr. The purpose of the meeting, Hoffa Sr. believed, was to patch up a split between himself and Provenzano.[142] However, Hoffa Sr. never returned from the lunch.

With his father's whereabouts unknown, Jim Hoffa, Jr. wasted no time trying to recover his father's assorted investments and secret partnerships. According to one press report, only a few weeks after Hoffa Sr.'s disappearance, Hoffa Jr. -- along with his brother-in-law -- flew out to Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, to try and recover his father's stake in the coal mines. Junior, according to the report, became "deeply involved" in the coal mine affair.[143]

Jim Hoffa, Jr., also traveled several times to meet with Hyman Green, one of the investors in the coal mine with mob connections.[144] The Hoffa Sr. estate listed a $200,000 note payable from Green, and Jim Hoffa, Jr., was likely trying to collect on the debt. However, it appears that

Green refused to honor the note, and in 1982 Hoffa Jr. petitioned the probate court to write off the debt as uncollectible.[145]

However, Jim Hoffa, Jr., appeared to have more luck with James Durkin, an investor in the coal mine with mob connections. The Hoffa Sr. estate listed a $400,000 note from Durkin. In 1982, Hoffa Jr. told the probate court that although the full amount from the Durkin note could not be collected, he was able to recover $164,000 of the amount.[146]

The full extent of Jim Hoffa, Jr.'s involvement with Hyman Green and James Durkin still remains a mystery. Yet it is clear that Hoffa Jr. displayed little reticence in actively trying to recover his father's investments from associates with a history of connection to organized crime and corruption at Teamsters' pension funds.

9 Messenger to the Mob

According to Dan Moldea, author of *Hoffa Wars*, Jim Hoffa, Jr., was his father's "most trusted confidant and legal adviser," serving as go-between for Hoffa Sr. and mob figures.[147] In 1974, Hoffa Jr. met with Tony Giacolone, a Detroit mob associate who was recently indicted along with 16 other members of the Detroit Mafia. The purpose of the meeting was to patch up a feud between Hoffa Sr. and Tony Provenzano, a former mob associate of Hoffa Sr. "Dad said that he wasn't ready yet, so he kept putting Giacolone off," Hoffa Jr. later recalled.[148] Hoffa Jr. met again with Giacolone and his brother Vito (also indicted in the recent crackdown on the Detroit mob) in his law offices in 1975 to "clear the air" between Hoffa Sr. and Tony Provenzano.[149]

Jim Hoffa, Jr., has also been less than puritanical in accepting gifts from mob figures. According to Hoffa Sr.'s lawyer Frank Ragano, he collected $5,000 each from mafia bosses Santo Trafficante and Carlos Marcello as a wedding present to Hoffa Jr.[150]

Conclusion

Over the last two decades, rank-and-file Teamster members and honest local leaders have struggled to gain control of their union. Fighting against unaccountable, corrupt, and entrenched Teamster bosses allied with the mob and employers -- and facing threats of retaliation and physical violence -- members have pushed to bring democracy to the Teamsters. As a result of these struggles, real victories have been achieved: the general president is now directly elected by the membership, many corrupt Teamster officials have been tossed from the union, and scores of

mobbed-up locals have been placed in trusteeship. But most importantly, there is now an overriding consensus among Teamster members that the weakening influence of the mob and corruption can have no role in the union.

Jim Hoffa, Jr., -- and his campaign strategists -- realize that Teamsters' politics have altered from the days when corruption and organized crime were welcomed in the union. As a result, Hoffa Jr. has tried to obliterate his past and reinvent himself as a rank-and-file reformer. Taking a page from his opponents, Hoffa Jr. declares that he is a champion of democracy, a lone underdog fighting against corruption, the mob, and union perks.

Yet while Jim Hoffa, Jr., mouths the words of reform, he can't hide his past. As this report shows, Hoffa Jr. has made a career of scavenging law fees and business deals from corrupt Teamster bosses with ties to the mob. He was a business partner with Allen Dorfman, one of the most important organized-crime figures in Teamsters' history. He has as a campaign strategist Mike Bane, an ex-felon convicted of stealing union funds. He brags about his work for George Vitale, who was thrown out of the Teamsters for embezzling Teamsters' funds and accepting employer payoffs. He worked for one of the most corrupt Teamsters' health and welfare funds in the country, standing back while his cronies and associates looted the Fund. He went out of his way to defend Teamster officials linked to the Colombo crime family captain Nicholas "Nicky Black" Grancio in Long Island, N.Y. And his campaign operatives include former *LaRouchites* who got their start in Teamsters' politics by defending some of the most notorious mob figures in the Teamsters.

Yet Jim Hoffa, Jr., insists that he will "restore the strength" of the Teamsters as general president. But it is far more likely that if Hoffa Jr. is elected general president, he will seriously weaken the union by restoring the influence of organized crime and corruption. This would be a serious setback not only for Teamsters' members standing up for good jobs and benefits, but to the labor movement as a whole.

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